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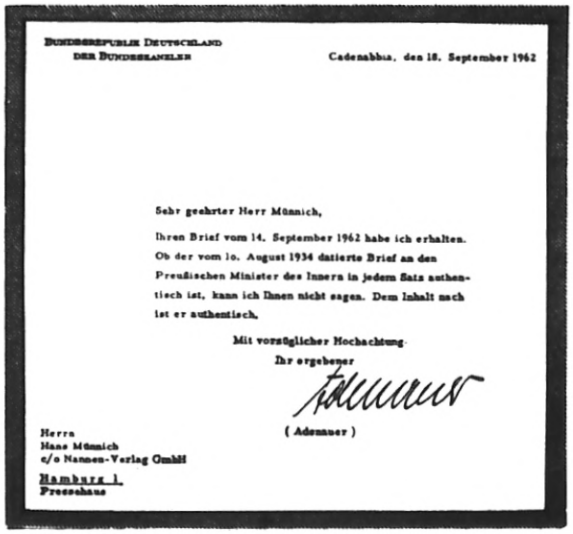
Konrad Comes Clean

Adenauer Acknowledges Authenticity of "Nice - To - Nazis" Note



BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND
DER BUNDESKANZLER

Cadenabbia, den 18. September 1962

Sehr geehrter Herr Münnich,

Ihren Brief vom 14. September 1962 habe ich erhalten. Ob der vom 10. August 1934 datierte Brief an den Preußischen Minister des Innern in jedem Satz authentisch ist, kann ich Ihnen nicht sagen. Dem Inhalt nach ist er authentisch.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Ihr ergebener

(Adenauer)

Herrn
Hans Münnich
c/o Nannen-Verlag GmbH
Hamburg 1
Pressehaus

Federal Republic of Germany
The Federal Chancellor

Cadenabbia, September 18th 1962

Dear Herr Münnich,

I have received your letter of September 14th 1962. I cannot say whether every sentence of the letter dated August 10th 1934 addressed to the Prussian Minister of the Interior is authentic. The general contents are authentic.

I am, etc,

Adenauer

Herr Hans Münnich
c/o Nannen-Verlag GmBH
Hamburg 1
Pressehaus

Konrad Adenauer, West German Chancellor, has been forced to admit that a begging letter which he wrote to the nazi government in 1934 is authentic.

In his 1934 letter, found in nazi files in the GDR, Adenauer claimed that he had always been "nice to the nazis", even when this involved ignoring directives issued by the pre-Hitler government. In his 1962 letter, reproduced on this page, Adenauer confirms that his pro-nazi petition is authentic.

The 1934 Adenauer letter (full summary below) was first published in English in GERMAN REPORT on November 24th 1961. British journalist Sefton Delmer wished to reproduce the letter in the West German edition of his book "Black Boomerang", but his West German publishers first submitted the letter to Chancellor Adenauer. Adenauer wrote back on September 18th 1962, admitting authorship of the letter.

The English edition of Delmer's book, published by Martin Secker & Warburg, 1962, makes only a short reference to the Adenauer letter. The West German edition, entitled "Die Deutschen und ich", which carries the entire text, is published by Nannen-Verlag, Hamburg.

In his 1934 letter, Adenauer stated "I always treated the Nazi Party in an absolutely correct manner... For years I allowed the Nazi Party to hoist its swastika flag, contrary to the decrees of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior... I stated that the Nazi Party must be represented in the Government."

Now read on for full details of the skeleton in Dr Adenauer's cupboard.

Konrad Adenauer's letter of August 10th 1934 was addressed to Wilhelm Frick, Prussian and Reich Minister of the Interior, and consisted of a request for the payment of his pension Adenauer had been Lord Mayor of Cologne until the nazis came to power in 1933, when he was sacked and deprived of his pension on the grounds of "national unreliability". In his ten-page letter, Adenauer went to great lengths to prove his "national reliability" in the nazi sense.

As a result of his begging letter, Adenauer's pension was restored. Throughout the entire nazi period the nazi state paid him an annual pension of about £1000 because he had been deprived of his post as Lord Mayor.

Here are some of the main passages from Adenauer's 1934 letter:

In 1906, after passing my examinations as Court Assessor in 1902, I entered the service of the City of Cologne. In 1917 I was unanimously elected Lord Mayor of Cologne, and confirmed by the Monarch. In 1929 I was re-elected, although the Social Democrats and Communists fought hard against my re-election.

I have been, for a long period, a registered member of the Zentrum Party; I have never belonged to any

other party. **I have always treated the NSDAP (Nazi Party, ed.) in an absolutely correct manner; in so doing I found myself repeatedly at loggerheads with ministerial directives, and the opinions of the Zentrum fraction of the Cologne City Parliament.**

For years, contrary to the decrees of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, I made available to the NSDAP the municipal sports grounds, and allowed the NSDAP to hoist its swastika flag on the municipal flag poles at its meetings held there.

For years, in the revelant committees, and contrary to the ministerial directives, I urged that municipal advertising should be given to the "Westdeutschen Beobachter" (Nazi Party newspaper in Cologne, ed.).

In summer 1930 I ordered that the decree of the Prussian Ministry of State, instructing that National Socialist officials should be named so that they could be disciplined, should not be put into effect, since I held this decree to be unjustified and unjust.

At that time the nationalist city councillor Gauleiter Grohé asked me whether city officials who gave their support to the NSDAP had anything to fear from me. I told him ... that if any official wanted to give his support to the NSDAP outside office hours, then this was purely his personal affair, and that such official had nothing to fear from me.

Something which happened on one of the last Sundays before the Reichstag election of March 5th 1933 aroused the impression that I was handling the NSDAP in a hostile manner amongst a certain part of the Cologne NSDAP which did not know the full facts. In the night before this Sunday, swastika flags were secretly flown on the pylons of the suspension bridge. This bridge was municipal property, and was only decked with flags when the city administration itself ordered the flagging. As a result I informed the Cologne party leadership that I could understand that the party wished to show its flags at its meeting, but that this was a municipal building which was not near to the scene of the meeting; I said that I was, however, agreeable that the flags should be hoisted in front of the Fair building in which the meeting should be held, and that the party leadership should send somebody who should give instructions where the flags should be hoisted. After this, municipal officials, in the presence of a representative of the party leadership, erected flag-poles in front of the Fair hall, and the flags were then hoisted here.

Anti-Nazi Adenauer

"I was always an opponent of the nazis. One Sunday Hitler came to Cologne by plane. I did not go to the airport."

Adenauer on February 6th 1963 in a TV interview with Columbia Broadcasting System, USA

From the date of the establishment of the Prussian State Council, I was member and President of this Council until 1933.

The so-called "three-man-collegium" foreseen by the Prussian Constitution, composed of the Prime Minister, Chairman of the Landtag, and President of the State Council, met only twice, in the winter of 1932-33, on the application of Landtag Chairman Kerrl (leading nazi, ed.), in order to rule on the dissolution of the Landtag ... **The sessions were very factual and polite, and at these meetings I stated specifically that I thought that such a large party as the NSDAP must undoubtedly be represented in a leading capacity in the Government.**

(Adenauer devoted the next seven pages of his long letter to his services to "the German cause" during the 1918 revolution "and the period of the enemy occupation". He drew particular attention to the fact that he had prevented the hoisting of the Red Flag on the Cologne City Hall during the 1918 revolution. Most of the long account is devoted to the attempt to prove that he played no part in attempts to establish a French-sponsored "Rhine Republic" after World War One.)

For me and for my family — I have seven children — it is extremely painful to be dismissed on the grounds that I am "nationally unreliable". I think that I can claim that under the most difficult circumstances I played a considerable part in saving the German Rhineland. After the withdrawal of the British occupation, President von Hindenburg thanked me warmly for my services, and presented me with his portrait.

This makes it even more bitter for me to be dismissed under the terms of Paragraph 4. I urgently request that the decision be revised. If there is still uncertainty or unclarity on any point, I would be glad of the opportunity to state my case.

Adenauer

The Chancellor's "Anti-Nazi Record"

Western newspapers sometimes attempt to present Chancellor Adenauer as some sort of hero of the anti-nazi resistance movement. Here are some facts on the case taken from the authorised biography of Adenauer published in West Germany in 1955 ("Konrad Adenauer — die Autorisierte Biographie" by Paul Weymar, Kindler Verlag, Munich 1955):

1. "Shortly before the outbreak of war, Adenauer travelled with his wife to Switzerland, and returned weeks later" (p. 193). Opponents of the nazi regime received no passports or currency for foreign travel. Anti-nazis who managed to get abroad just before World War Two stayed there.

2. "At that time (1943) Adenauer absolutely refused to take an active part in political affairs. When Goerdeler (of the 1944 anti-Hitler bomb plot) tried to get in touch with him ... Adenauer made it quite plain that he would have no part in any such enterprise." (p. 196)

3. During the nazi period, Adenauer was arrested three times. On June 30th 1934 he was detained for 48 hours, together with a number of generals and bankers (p. 171—173). After the bomb-plot against Hitler in July 1944, the Gestapo rounded up almost all prominent old-time politicians, including Adenauer. During his three weeks detention he had the service of a batman who brought him breakfast in bed and he received daily food parcels (p. 206—207). In October 1944 he was arrested again, but received special treatment and was released on instructions from the SS head office in Berlin (p. 247—248). Despite these arrests, his pension was never cancelled.

4. In 1945, when the war ended, he was living peacefully at home, and the nazis had allotted him French slave labourers to care for his private garden (p. 261).

Summing up Adenauer's life during the nazi period, the official US German-language newspaper in West Germany, "Neue Zeitung" stated on September 16th 1949: "He did not worry. He pottered about in his garden, and tended his roses."

Immediately after the end of the war, the British military authorities appointed Adenauer Mayor of Cologne, but sacked him a few weeks later allegedly for "incompetence".

GDR Proposes

Addressing the Socialist Unity Party Congress in East Berlin on January 15th, Walter Ulbricht suggested that the two German states should conclude a goodwill pact covering the following points:

1. Respect for the existence of the other German state, and its political and social system. Renunciation of the use of force in any form.

2. Respect for the frontiers of the two German states, and renunciation of any attempts to change these frontiers.

3. Renunciation of the testing, possession, disposition and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

4. Arms stop in both German states, and further agreements on disarmament in both states.

5. Mutual recognition of the passports and citizenship of the two German states as a pre-condition for the normalisation of travel.

6. Establishment of normal sport and cultural relations.

7. Conclusion of a trade agreement between the governments of the two German states, with the aim of expanding trade.

W. Germany Ignores

The West German Government ignored the GDR proposals, as it has all such suggestions in the past. Here is a summary of West German policy on the points raised:

1. The West German Government refuses to recognise the existence of another German state, and refuses even to contemplate signing any form of agreement with the GDR.

2. The West German Government officially urges changing the present frontiers back to those of 1937, thus incorporating into Germany large areas of Poland and other countries.

3. "We are determined to participate in the establishment of an effective multilateral NATO nuclear force." (Adenauer, February 6th 1963)

4. "We must increase our defence expenditure by over one thousand million marks." (Adenauer, February 6th 1963)

5. The West German Government refuses to recognise GDR passports, and has encouraged other states to join in non-recognition.

6. The West German Government has done all in its power to end sport and cultural relations between the two German states.

7. The West German Government has consistently hindered expansion of existing trade between the two German states.

Alternatives for West Berlin

West Berlin has two alternatives today: either it can become a peaceful and neutral Free City, or it will slowly stagnate as an advanced bastion of the Bonn-Paris-Madrid axis. These two alternatives were sketched by Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, in a TV address to West Berliners on February 8th.

In the course of his 45-minute address, Walter Ulbricht stressed that the GDR had no intention of trying to swallow West Berlin, and that it was ready at any time to conclude a treaty with the West Berlin administration on a normalisation of relations between West Berlin and the GDR, which surrounds the city on all sides.

Here are some of the most important points made by Chairman Ulbricht in his speech:

"There are great differences between our point of view and that of many West Berliners, but I am convinced that we are all interested in maintaining the peace, and in creating an atmosphere in Berlin in which we can negotiate our problems in a sensible way.

"Every West Berlin citizen should pose for himself the question: What is going to happen to West Berlin? There are obviously only two possibilities. Either West Berlin will become a peaceful and neutral Free City, or it will wither, slowly or quickly, as an advanced bastion of the Bonn-Paris-Madrid axis.

"In the interests of European peace, I declare that we are seriously interested in living peacefully together with West Berlin in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. We are ready to conclude with the West Berlin Senate a treaty on the normalisation of relations on a sensible basis. We have a number of wishes for such a treaty. For instance we would request that West Berlin should cease to be a centre of subversion directed against the GDR; your side will also have various requests to the GDR representatives.

"There is no legal basis for the claim that West Berlin forms part of the West German Federal Republic; there is no legal basis for the occupation regime in West Berlin; there is no legal basis for the use of the communications on land, water and the air (between West Germany and West Berlin, ed.). Thus it is clear that the West Berlin policy of hostility towards the GDR stands on a very shaky basis.

"But in this situation the German Democratic Republic offers to West Berlin and its citizens a solid treaty basis for an independent, peaceful and neutral West Berlin, with all possible guarantees. We really cannot offer any more than that.

"If the GDR really wanted to swallow West Berlin, then we would obviously oppose the establishment of a firm treaty basis for a neutral West Berlin Free City, on the basis of international guarantees; but on the contrary, we are in favour of such a settlement.

"Some West Berlin citizens ask how long the state frontier of the GDR round West Berlin will continue to exist. Our answer is as follows: This frontier will continue to exist as long as there are two German states and the special territory of West Berlin. All states have frontiers, and see to it that they are respected. This is particularly necessary when the neighbouring state is an imperialist state which claims a revision of the frontiers.

"In connection with the signature of the Bonn-Paris Pact, Adenauer stated that many generations would be affected by the establishment of this axis; we can only conclude that Adenauer's Government has completely abandoned German reunification, and thus reckons with the existence of two German states for an unlimited period.

"This means, for you in West Berlin, that you will have to live with

the GDR state frontier round West Berlin until the peace forces in West Germany have overcome German imperialism. When the rule of the militarists has been broken in West Germany, and when the cooperation of the two German states in a conferation has created suitable conditions for finally overcoming the partitioning of Germany, then the question of abolishing the frontier will take its place on the agenda. To end the partitioning of Germany will certainly not take many generations, as Adenauer wishes.

"But it is naturally possible to have different classes of frontier; you can have a very strict frontier, and a very easy frontier, and a whole range between. Under certain circumstances it is conceivable that arrangements could be made which would allow West Berliners to get out of their present restricted area. A strict frontier is necessary, however, as long as the West Berlin Senate refuses even to negotiate on a normalisation of relations, and as long as West Berlin is a cold war bastion and a centre of subversion against the GDR.

"Thus the strictness of the frontier depends very largely on you, the citizens of West Berlin. I do not think it is necessary for us to make life difficult for each other: a normalisation of relations would bring you the most advantages.

"With regard to the problem of the families which have been split by the 'Wall', and which cannot come together because of circumstances for which the ruling circles in Bonn and West Berlin are responsible, we are ready to treat generously applications from West Berliners who wish to move permanently to the GDR to join their families here."

In the course of his speech, Walter Ulbricht pointed out that by developing normal relations with the German Democratic Republic, West Berlin could set a good example for relations between the two German states.

Minister Removed for Concealing His Record

Professor Karl-Heinz Bartsch, newly-appointed chairman of the agricultural commission of the GDR Government with the rank of minister, was summarily removed from his post on February 9th when it became known that he had concealed details of his past connection with nazism. He was simultaneously expelled from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party.

The official announcement from the Socialist Unity Party Central Committee stated: "Bartsch has been expelled from the Central Committee because he had concealed the fact that he had been a member of the Waffen-SS (military formation of the nazi elite guard), and thereby done great damage to the Party. The Central Party Control Commission will conduct further investigations."

Professor Bartsch himself published a statement saying: "It is correct that I was a member of the Waffen-SS. I was born in 1923 in the then Danzig Free City, and through my membership in the Jungvolk (nazi children's organisation), influences in grammar school and my home I came to believe in fascist ideas. At the age of 18 I joined the Waffen-SS. As a result of the blows delivered to the fascist army by the Red Army, I slowly began to see that everything was false, and that I had been deceived by phrases. Because I was afraid of the consequences, I concealed after the war the fact that I had been a member of the Waffen-SS, but I had taken a resolution to build a new life through hard work. When I joined the Socialist Unity Party I did not find the courage to admit my membership of the Waffen-SS. I had recognised my mistake, and tried to prove by hard work and study that I had become a different person.

"Whatever work I may do in future, I shall always endeavour to serve our workers' and peasants' state by honest work."

GERMAN REPORT comments: *The speed with which the GDR authorities acted in removing Professor Bartsch from his prominent post as soon as facts about his past record became known contrasts vividly with the way in which the West German authorities cling to old nazis with far worse records. There is no need to list here some of these West German nazis; this has been done repeatedly in past issues of GERMAN REPORT. It is important to note that the West German authorities can immediately check on anyone's past nazi affiliations, since the full records of the Nazi Party and its ancillary organisations are held in the US Document Centre in West Berlin. These complete indexed records are freely available to the West German authorities; they are barred to the GDR authorities, which have to rely on the fragmentary nazi records in their hands.*

The case of Professor Bartsch shows that it may still be possible for a minor nazi who has managed to conceal his past record to attain a position of some prominence in the GDR; the situation cannot be compared with that ruling in West Germany where thousands of men known to have held prominent and responsible posts under Hitler are today active again in high posts in the army, the courts, the police forces and government offices.

W. Berlin Votes

West Berlin's Social Democrats won a clear victory in elections to the city council on February 17th, gaining almost 62% of the total votes, against 53% in 1958. The Christian Democrats got 28% (36%), the Free Democrats 7.9% (3.8%) and the Socialist Unity Party 1.3% (1.9%).

Main reason for the big Social Democratic gain and Christian Democratic losses was believed to be public resentment that the Christian Democrats had vetoed talks between West Berlin Lord Mayor Willy Brandt and Soviet Premier Khrushchov in January.

Brecht's Birthday Marked

Theatre performances and special ceremonies on February 10th throughout the world marked the 65th birthday of the late Bertolt Brecht, who spent the last years of his life producing his plays in East Berlin's Berliner Ensemble.

The city administration of East Berlin marked the occasion by naming the square in front of his theatre Bertolt Brecht Platz.

London, Prague, Budapest and many other cities saw new productions of Brecht plays, New Delhi opened a ten-day Brecht Festival, and West German theatre researchers reported that after Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller, Brecht was the most-played author on the stages of West Germany, the GDR, Austria and Switzerland.

Protest marchers in Augsburg, West Germany, where the poet was born, bore posters asking, "When will the city of Augsburg honour its great writer?"

Joint German Team for Olympics

Athletes from both German states will compete in the Olympic Games in Tokyo and Innsbruck next year as a joint all-German team, just as they did in 1956 and 1960. This decision, reached after many months of confusion and West German obstruction, was handed down by top International Olympic Committee officials headed by President Avery Brundage after talks with GDR and West German representatives on February 6th in Lausanne, Switzerland.

In 1956 und 1960, joint East-West German teams had been formed after play-offs in each sport. The athletes had shared a neutral flag with five Olympic rings and a theme from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony ("All men shall be brothers") instead of West Germany's "Deutschland über alles" or the GDR anthem. There were two equal team heads, one from each German state.

In August 1961, under heavy West German Government pressure, West German sports officials banned all contacts between GDR and West German athletes on West German soil, thus jeopardising plans for a joint Olympic team for 1964. GDR cyclists, footballers, and skiers were forced to leave West Germany under police escort when they accepted invitations to West German contests, and those inviting them or daring to compete in the GDR were often victimised by West German sport organisations. West Germany followed a policy of trying to isolate the GDR in world sports; initially effective, this policy soon began to boomerang. Various international sports bodies became reluctant to allot international meets to West Germany or the other NATO countries, which had joined the West German boycott, since this meant that GDR sportsmen could not compete.

The first attempts by GDR Olympics leaders to organise a joint team for the 1964 games broke down. In October 1962 the West Germans sent a long ultimatum to the International Olympic Committee, laying down a long list of conditions for forming a joint team with the GDR, and in December they rejected the idea of a joint team. The international Olympics officials therefore worked out a proposal that both states would have separate teams, but would share the same flag. The GDR agreed and West German sports leaders finally seemed satisfied.

But the West Germans soon had a sudden change of heart, after talks with West German government leaders in Bonn. The idea that the GDR might have its own team and win laurels and athletic prestige for the GDR evidently frightened the Bonn Government even more than play-offs with GDR sportsmen. (In past Olympics, western papers often gave readers the impression that all successful German athletes were from West Germany.)

When all sides met in Lausanne on February 6th, West German officials returned to the old idea of a joint team; they promised to arrange for play-offs in both German states and to acknowledge the equality of both parties to the agreement. The GDR was again able to agree without hesitation; this was what it has urged ever since 1961. Top sportsmen of the GDR proposed that meetings be held as soon as possible to arrange fair playoffs in all sports and avoid either further loss of time or political interference.

The GDR sports organisations also greeted with especial warmth the call of the International Olympics Committee to end all further discrimination in sports on racial, religious or political grounds, and to hold all international matches only in countries which permit all contestants to enter without difficulty. This and the Olympics decision, if implemented, will mean that no further GDR athletes are barred from international contests.

Apparent West German agreement to allow GDR sportsmen to compete in athletic events in West Germany as part of Olympic preparations leaves other NATO countries, which had banned GDR sportsmen at West German request, out on a limb. In the House of Commons on February 11th, Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, gave a one-word "No" reply when asked whether the British Government was now ready to grant visas to sportsmen from the GDR who wanted to come to Britain to compete in international events.

Easter Marches Planned

The West German Easter March will centre its action against atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr forces, the organisers of the march announced in Bonn in mid-February. As in past years, there will be separate marches in five different regions, so as to cover most important cities.

Despite renewed refusal by the Social Democratic Party to have anything to do with the Easter March, and recent reprisals against youth groups announcing their participation, the organisers stated that many more opponents of atomic weapons will take part this year than ever before.

In preparation for the march, a "Lobby Week for Peace and Disarmament" has been organised in Bonn to inform Bundestag representatives and diplomats on the aims of the anti-atom movement.

Attention, Lawyers!

"Law and Legislation in the German Democratic Republic" is the title of a magazine published in English bi-annually by the Association of German Democratic Lawyers in East Berlin.

The latest issue of this specialist publication deals with such subjects as the new Civil Code of the GDR, and problems of Space Law.

A free trial copy can be obtained on application to:

Association of German Democratic Lawyers,
Littenstrasse 15–17
Berlin C 2
German Democratic Republic

Actor Against A-Bombs

A top West German film and stage star spoke out sharply against atomic weapons for the West German Bundeswehr in an interview on February 14th. The actor, Victor de Kowa, is chairman of the West German *Gewerkschaft Kunst*, the trade union covering actors, musicians and others in the field of the arts. He is also on the Executive Committee of the West German Trade Union Federation.

"The problems of the world cannot be solved with a terrifying instrument of annihilation like the atom bomb," Herr de Kowa stated. He added that the "members of artistic professions have a special responsibility in their activities and behaviour" regarding questions of this nature.

Adenauer Fears British Neutralism, Vetoes Market Entry

West German Chancellor Adenauer played a major part in vetoing British entry into the Common Market because he feared this might turn the Common Market in a "neutralist" direction, according to West German Defence Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel.

Here is the text of von Hassel's remarks, as reported by the official Christian Democratic Information Service, and reprinted in "Die Welt", Hamburg, on February 13th:

"Representatives of the textile industry tell the Chancellor that if Britain comes into the Common Market, then this jeopardises the existence of 600,000 workers in (West) Germany. The coal industry tells the Chancellor that if Britain comes into the Common Market, this may produce a situation which we perhaps cannot survive.

"Then there is the political angle, which must be taken seriously. The Chancellor says: 'How can this Europe be expanded? What is the political picture of this Europe? In will come socialist Denmark, socialist Norway, socialist Iceland, and perhaps a Britain ruled by Labour. Socialist Sweden is already neutral, and so is Finland. What will finally happen in Italy with the right and the left nobody knows'.

"The Chancellor therefore has the political worry that if all these other nations come in, then the whole of (western) Europe could perhaps become a structure in which suddenly the socialists, who are basically neutralists, would call the tune."

Chancellor Adenauer's reported sentiments flatly contradicted the official Bonn line that West Germany would have been delighted to see Britain join, and was disappointed at de Gaulle's veto. West German newspaper reports of Herr von Hassel's speech led to a flood of denials from government spokesmen, and to offical enquiries from the Danish and Norwegian Governments as to what Dr. Adenauer had meant.

Liberal Democrats Confer in Weimar

The Liberal Democratic Party of the GDR, one of the four political parties which work together with the Socialist Unity Party in the National Front, in the People's Chamber and in the Cabinet, held its 9th Party Congress in the town of Weimar from February 15th to 17th. Among the 1400 delegates and visitors to the convention were guests from West Germany and from the Polish Democratic Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

The Liberal Democrats, who represent especially craftsmen, shopkeepers and owners of small and medium-sized business enterprises, debated the problems and contributions of these groups in the construction of socialism.

BACKGROUND ON A KEY FIGURE

The West Berlin Christian Democratic newspaper " Der Tag" stated in an article on February 12th:

"Whichever way you look at Chancellor Adenauer's office, you always come up against its State Secretary, Globke. He is the sovereign ruler of this apparatus which prepares the decisions of the Chancellor and checks on their execution. It coordinates the work of the federal ministries.

"The field of foreign policy has a special office directly attached to State Secretary Globke. The same is true of the office dealing with the interesting and key position of Plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic in Berlin. The network of the Federal Intelligence Service is also centred in the Chancellor's Office."

Who is Globke, key in the West German Government?

Hans Globke drafted Hitler's anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws in 1935; later he helped implement nazi policy throughout occupied Europe. Documented details on his past are available in the pamphlet "Globke – Bureaucrat of Death". Apply for a free copy to:

German Report
Krausenstrasse 9
Berlin W 8
German Democratic Republic

(This offer only applies to readers outside the GDR.)

Power Network Grows

A sudden breakdown in the huge power plant of Berzdorf in the southeastern corner of the GDR, which formerly would have meant serious power cuts in homes and factories, went completely unnoticed by the public on February 7th. This was due to an international power network which is connecting up the electrical systems of more and more socialist countries and which permits an immediate flow of electricity from one country to another in time of emergency or more-than-normal demand.

The international network now connects Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and parts of Hungary and the Soviet Union. It will soon be extended to Rumania and Bulgaria, and in the next few years will also connect up with the huge network now being erected in the Soviet Union. This will include the power dams and plants in Siberia, and will also enable a constant exchange of power from one time zone to another between Elbe and Pacific, doing away with many shortages caused by peak demands in the morning and evening hours.

TV Link-Up

Intervision, eastern Europe's TV network equivalent of Western Europe's Eurovision, grew to include Rumania and Bulgaria at the beginning of February. Television programmes can now be exchanged between the GDR, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The new link means that all Europe's television countries from Britain in the north-west to Bulgaria in the south-east can now plug in on one programme when Intervision and Eurovision agree to bridge the "Iron Curtain", as they have often done in the past, mainly for sports events.

Co-op Members Cast Votes

3,700,000 members of consumer co-operatives in the GDR cast their votes on February 8th and 9th for members of the executive committees in their local co-op stores. More than 17,000 such committees, with an average of 8 members, will check on sales and sales methods in local co-op stores during the next two years and work for improvements in meeting consumer wishes and requirements.

Over 95% of all co-op members cast their ballots in the vote, a slight increase over the elections two years ago.

Bonn Merry-Go-Round

By Frederick Ford

The ways of West German officialdom are weird and wonderful. Here are a few notes on recent events in the Bonn jungle, which balances between tragedy and farce.

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On February 7th, Rudolf Augstein, editor of the news magazine "Spiegel", was released from a West German prison after being held for 15 weeks on suspicion of committing a whole series of crimes ranging from treason to bribery. 10 other persons arrested in the case had earlier been released: no formal charges have yet been lodged against any of the persons concerned.

The "Spiegel" case blew up on October 26th 1962 when squads of police occupied the Hamburg offices of the magazine, which has often been critical of Bonn policies, and arrested editors and reporters on assorted charges. Formal basis for the raid and the arrests was an article published weeks earlier which was alleged to have revealed important military secrets. The real reason for the action against the magazine was that it had repeatedly exposed flagrant cases of corruption involving West German Defence Minister Strauss. In subsequent parliamentary debates Strauss swore repeatedly that he had had "nothing, I repeat absolutely nothing" to do with the "Spiegel" arrests, but an official report which the West German Government was forced to publish on February 5th showed that he had been a moving force in the whole affair. Strauss was so deeply implicated that he was finally forced to resign.

During the heated parliamentary debates which followed the arrests, Chancellor Adenauer made the sweeping statement: "We are faced with a chasm of treason in our country. A magazine with a circulation of 500,000 has systematically committed treason in order to make money."

Late in February, four months after the arrests, there were signs that the Bonn authorities were looking for a convenient way of burying and forgetting the whole affair, since the charges of treason could not be made to stick.

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Though Defence Minister Strauss had been forced to resign, and had left West Germany for a long holiday in Spain, some of his private guard of intelligence men appeared to be hard at work covering up his tracks. It was officially announced that a big package of court documents dealing with one of the multitude of Strauss corruption cases, sent from the Bonn Parliament to a court in Nuremberg by registered post, had mysteriously "vanished in the mail". The busy track-coverers must have been disappointed to hear that though they might have been able to do away with the originals, full carbon copies were still available.

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In the north German town of Geesthacht, the grammar school pupils had an unusual guest speaker at the end of January; Grand Admiral Doenitz, whom Hitler appointed as his successor as Chancellor of the nazi Reich just before he committed suicide. Doenitz served a ten year sentence as top war criminal. The Admiral, who had been invited to speak by the headmaster of the school, explained to the school children that he had been sent to prison unjustly; he had invaded Norway in 1940 to prevent the British doing it first. To make the explanation more plastic, he drew a parallel: "If Frau Müller goes to the baker's to buy rolls before Frau Lehmann, then Frau Müller is punished for it" he said.

When some West German newspapers criticised the school authorities for inviting a convicted nazi war criminal to address the pupils, the school authorities were amazed. A former nazi colonel, W. Keller, writing in the "Lübecker Nachrichten", stated: "I am astonished at the attacks on such an old and worthy officer, a man who has never done anything of which he could be ashamed."

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Another convicted war criminal also hit the headlines early in February: General Ferdinand Foertsch, Commander in Chief of the West German Armed Forces. General Foertsch served 10 years of a 25 year sentence for crimes committed on the eastern front.

His excursion into the limelight was in the role of TV critic. The West German TV broadcast, on the 20th anniversary of the battle of Stalingrad, a play dealing with the battle. It was not a very logical play, and not a very good play, but it did criticise the Hitler generals who had fought to the last man for Hitler.

General Foertsch, learning that the play was to be broadcast, obtained a copy of the script, and promptly sent out telegrams to all his local commanders warning them that the play was "Communist propaganda" and that the author was either "a willing opponent of freedom or an unwitting tool of the enemies of freedom." He was particularly upset that the play allegedly tried to prove that "the German military caste had lost its right to claim a leading role".

After sending out the telegrams, General Foertsch apparently decided that his instructions might make his soldiers eager to see the play, so he suddenly arranged country-wide night manoeuvres for the evening of the TV show, thus getting the soldiers out of barracks.

Writing in the Jewish weekly "Allgemeine Wochenzeitung", the prominent West German Jew Karl Marx (no kin) stated: "Foertsch's criticism of the TV play would appear to show that he agrees with the events of that epoch (the nazi period, ed.), or even regards them as a model for today."

There is a sorry end to the story. The author of the play, Claus Hubalek, instead of standing by his anti-militarist guns, rushed into print with a declaration that of course he was a convinced anti-Communist, thus ending up neatly aligned with his war criminal critic.

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Only two old nazi judges who sentenced anti-fascists to death during the Hitler period are still on the bench in West Germany, West German newspapers happily reported on February 15th. The statistic was met with not-so-polite disbelief by people who have studied the nazi court files held in the GDR; these files, which are very incomplete, show that at least 896 of today's West German judges and prosecutors held posts in nazi special courts and military courts, and in many scores of cases at least, documents have survived showing that they passed death sentences for such offences as "concealing Jews".

In many cases these old nazi judges are once again handing down sentences on left-wing "political" offenders. During 1961 and 1962 alone, a total of 515 men and women were sent to prison in West Germany for such offences as "distributing Marxist literature" and demonstrating against nuclear weapons. Hundreds of other persons were held for weeks or months in jail while similar charges were investigated.

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

Many readers of GERMAN REPORT tell me that when they receive their copy they first turn to the back page to read Berlin Notebook; in fact this practice seems to be so widespread that I have sometimes idly wondered whether I should not reverse the order of the pages, printing the title page on the back and the notebook on the front, so that just for once these "end of the book" readers would get to read the pages in the right order.

Dim Past

However, if you are one of the few who start at the front, you will already know that the front pages of this issue are devoted to further details and confirmation of West German Chancellor Adenauer's rather dim past. The fact that Adenauer has confirmed, in writing, his old "nice to the nazis" letter is more important than it may appear to some readers. His letter of confirmation, and the fact that excerpts from the letter have been printed in a book published in Britain, means that the details about the Chancellor's interesting views on the nazis may now be re-printed in Britain without any fear of a libel action.

Incidentally, I would like to recommend Sefton Delmer's book, "Black Boomerang" to anyone who is interested in details of the propaganda war waged concurrently with the fighting of World War Two. Delmer knows a lot about the subject, because he was in charge of the "black propaganda" from Britain. There seems to be no orthodox name for black propaganda in English: it can perhaps best be explained in cricketing jargon as "getting your opponent's eye off the ball".

Sefton Delmer and his staff did this in devious ways, mainly by running a string of radio stations which pretended, with some success, to be situated inside Germany, and which broadcast pro-nazi programmes interspersed with news items calculated to spread alarm and confusion. It may sound a little confusing, but it was in fact a valuable part of the anti-nazi struggle.

Reading the book reminded me that Delmer's black network managed to confuse me, as well as the nazis, at one period in 1944. I was at that time running the news service of Jerusalem Radio in what was then the British Mandate of Palestine. We got our news from the usual news agencies, and in addition by monitoring allied and nazi radio stations.

Inevitably, we picked up the transmission put out by Delmer's "black" radios, the main one of which was the "Atlantiksender". Since the black network was a top secret affair, nobody had got round to telling us in Jerusalem that it was in reality an allied undertaking, and for a while I regarded the reports from the Atlantiksender as genuine nazi news, and used them as such: this proves either the excellence of the camouflage or my own stupidity.

Finally, however, I realised what was going on, and became so cautious of monitored radio reports that when the perfectly genuine news broke on July 20th 1944 that a group of German officers had tried to kill Hitler with a bomb, I dismissed the story as a perfectly enormous hoax launched by the black news merchants. That evening, Jerusalem Radio was probably the only radio station in the world, allied, nazi, or neutral, which ran the news of the bomb-plot as the last item in the news bulletin, wrapped up with careful qualifications about "rumours" and "unconfirmed reports".

By the next day, even I was convinced that something must have happened, and since the black "Atlantiksender" had been right in its first reports, I gave credence to its follow-up stories, which were in fact pure inventions. As a result Jerusalem Radio put out, in good faith, for a day or two, a series of wild stories about the success of the bomb-plot, which had in fact by that time been drowned in blood.

So much for my own unhappy experiences with Sefton Delmer's black network. But I would like to stress again that the book "Black Boomerang" is worth reading, both for its inside story of a little-known aspect of the allied war effort, and for some interesting reflections on the extent to which West Germany has become re-nazified today.

Inconsequence

For the past few days, I have been wondering what to do with a letter I have received from a history student at Durham University in Britain. In his letter the student, Mr Brian Withnall, throws at my head, in condensed if sometimes inconsequent summary, almost all the fairy tales about the GDR, about "Russian aggression in Europe" and so on, which the Bonn propagandists have been hawking around for years. He then ends up, "If you do not reply to my letter I will automatically assume that my views are correct and that you have guilt to hide".

Book Needed

First I thought that I might try to answer his charges in the pages of GERMAN REPORT, but a few pencilled notes which I made soon showed me that an adequate reply would grow into a book, and be the labour of years. In any case most of the points he raised (ranging from the "Berlin Blockade" to the Oder-Neisse frontier) have been dealt with repeatedly in GERMAN REPORT over the past eleven years.

However, I did reply direct to Mr Withnall, as he appeared genuinely to be seeking information despite his slanging, and perhaps the closing paragraphs of my letter are worth reprinting:

"Let us assume, just for the sake of argument, that some or all of your charges and arguments are true. But let us look at it this way. Whether 'the East' or 'the West' is responsible, we have today a situation in which Germany is divided into two separate states (plus a special anomalous area, West Berlin, which does not form part of either state) with different social systems and widely different policies.

"These two states exist. They cannot be wished out of existence. And they exist in the centre of Europe, on the dividing line between the socialist half of Europe and the capitalist half. The question which has to be tackled today is how to prevent this situation from endangering the peace of the world.

"The Government of the GDR has made a number of sensible and workable suggestions for peaceful co-existence between the two states, leading to an 'escalation-down' (for escalators go down as well as up) of the dangerous military confrontation in the middle of Europe.

"If or when the West German Government (or the British Labour Party, or any other responsible body) makes sensible and realistic proposals to the same end, suggestions which do not affect the vital interests of the power blocks which exist today, whether we like it or not, then we shall be delighted to give them equal publicity."

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